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the mother, these are at once set down as the operation of evil spirits. The parents, especially the father, are released from the restriction laid upon them by custom as soon as the child is assumed to have become independent of the physical and mental constitution of its parents.

Among the Chaco Indians, there does not exist any ceremonies corresponding to our baptism, but a *name* is always given the new-born child. The Chaco Indians name their children after animals, birds, reptiles (for instance Bird, Alligator, Lizard), or after bodily peculiarities observed in the child (for instance: Tsihnilak, »Paunchy», a Choroti name), but the names seem on the whole to be given at random and not with the same discrimination which is the rule among some Indians of tropical South America. There is however one peculiar feature to be noted in this respect: the reluctance generally displayed by the Indians to mention their real names. I very rarely heard the Indians using each other's names in their daily conversations, and if one wished to find out the name of a certain Indian, this was as a rule extremely difficult. When a Choroti, a Mataco, or a Toba went to the settlements of the whites to work, he usually assumed a special European name for that time. Such names they never had any objection to mentioning, but they were extremely unwilling to tell me their proper native names. Only on certain occasions — for instance, at the drinking-feasts when all were in high spirits and very good friends — did it happen that the Indians told me one another's names. The native name, received in early childhood, is the real name and is to a certain degree taboo. To reveal it is a perilous thing, especially if the individual *himself* does it. It is to put oneself wholly in the power of an unknown stranger and wilfully to expose oneself to mysterious dangers.

As we shall find later on, the names of the *dead* are particularly taboo.

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ness and misfortune. Thus the Choroti expressly declared to me that if at birth a child is very sickly or deformed, this is due to its being possessed by an evil *möhsek* (spirit), and they therefore generally kill the child at once. The Mataco call their evil spirits *aitták* and regard a monster as an *aitták* personified. Similarly the Tobas believe that a sick child is possessed by a demon (*peyák*), or is itself such a demon, and owing to the close connection which there is between the child and its parents, this may entail unfortunate consequences for the parents also, nay, for the whole tribe.

Father Cardús relates that when among the Tobas a woman dies in child-birth, the new-born child is buried alive with its mother's body [1]). I do not believe that such a custom is practised by the Tobas of to-day, but it may well have existed formerly. A woman who dies in childbirth is always regarded by the Indians with superstitious fear, since the accident is explained as an operation of evil spirits to which the woman has fallen a victim. But the new-born child with its mother forms, as it were, one single personality; consequently the child also is regarded as being possessed. Besides, a sucking child which is bereft of its mother is also left without nutrition since, according to Indian ideas, a new-born babe can only be nourished with the milk of its own mother, and would thus die in any case.

We may of course also assume that practical considerations have led the Indians to infanticide. The Indians understand that a sickly or deformed child has scarcely any chance of developing into a strong man and a useful member of society. In the hard struggle for existence under which the Indian lives it may even be merciful to destroy him. I believe however that such considerations play only a subordinate part in the custom of infanticide, which must first of all be explained by superstition.

The same custom prevails with regard to *twins*. Among all tribes the second is generally killed. The birth of twins is among all Pilcomayo tribes looked upon as an unnatural and most ominous thing, since the Indians consider that one man cannot become the father of two children at once. The second, consequently, must be the offspring either of another man or of an evil spirit. Besides, the Indians say that a woman has not sufficient milk to nourish two babes at the same time, and from this point of view also twins are regarded as unlucky. The Indian woman, who has to work hard, is anxious not to bear more children than she is able to nourish and to take care of. In a Choroti family three or four

[1]) Cardús *op. cit.* p. 263.

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776 The second class of spirits are called *nahút*. They are the most feared
761 because they are believed to cause death, the phenomenon most feared by primitive man. Being particularly death demons, the *nahút* are frequently called *nahút yil*. *Yil* is the Mataco word for death. Every death is due to a special *nahút yil*, and of course every mortal disease, or every disease which naturally ends in death unless the art of the medicine-man can prevent it. If one asks a Mataco Indian what a *nahút* is like, he will answer that it is a thin, shadow-like human figure; it is the double of the dead man. The *nahút* live in the earth, where the dead are interred, but they frequently leave this dwelling-place and fly through the air, approach the habitations of the living and inflict mortal disease upon them.

753 Every grave disease is due to a special *nahút*. Thus for instance,
776 the intermittent fever which attacks people during the cold season, is caused by a *nahút teláh*. The Mataco, however, are of opinion that it is
[755] possible for a medicine-man to cure the patient by incantations in four or five days. The worst *nahút* of all is the small-pox, *otoahtyá*, a disease which has caused terrible ravages among the Mataco at different periods. The art of the medicine-man is powerless against this dreadful demon. Therefore, when an epidemic of small-pox breaks out in a Mataco village the inhabitants know of no other remedy against the evil than to burn the whole village, to abandon the place and the sick ones, and to depart to another place. When an Indian is attacked by the small-pox, the Mataco told me, the *nahút* seizes the patient at the throat and presses it together with such violence that the tongue hangs out from the mouth, the eyes are thrust out from their orbits, the face swells up, and the patient dies.

If in a village, during a certain time, several deaths have occurred, especially if an epidemic has been raging, the Mataco are in the habit of saying: »That place has been visited by many *nahút yil*». On the other hand, if in a certain village there has been no death and no disease for a long time, the Indians say: »In this place there are, at present, no *nahút yil*». There is practically no disease and no illness which is not directly or indirectly ascribed by the Indians either to an *aittáh slamsa* or a *nahút yil*. Slight disorders and illnesses which are cured in a couple of days are ascribed to the *aittáh*, mortal diseases to the *nahút*. If a Mata-
[752] co for instance breaks his leg, or if some other misfortune happens to him which does not end fatally, he is of opinion that he has been attacked by
776 a »small» *aittáh*. Similarly, there are *aittáh* operating in stupendous natural
821 phenomena, in hurricanes, in torrential rains, in thunder and lightning,

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Chapter XVIII.

Ideas of future life and funeral ceremonies.

Although the Chaco Indians certainly do not believe in the »immortality of the soul» — an expression often abused, especially by Christian missionaries — they all believe in the continued existence of the soul after death. Their ideas about the future life are much the same as those found among most primitive peoples. Man is, as it were, a double being; in the visible body there resides an ethereal shadow-like being, mostly invisible, which is its life-essence and the particular seat of which is the chest. That the soul is thought of as being in its nature a shadow-like form appears especially from the name given it by the Tobas: *kadepakál*, which means »our (*i. e.* the human) shadow». The Choroti usually speak of »the dead one» (*yál*) whereas the Mataco call the soul *kasitah*, a word the etymology of which is obscure. When man is asleep this ethereal being is believed to have left its abode for the moment, and what he experiences in his dreams is believed to be really experienced by the soul during its wanderings. When he awakes it returns to the body. In death, on the other hand, the soul has left its abode for ever. This is the work of the evil demon who entered into the body causing disease and death.

Leaving its bodily frame at the moment of death, the soul is set free to an active and independent existence and changed into a supernatural being of whom the Indians as a rule stand in great fear. According to the ideas they have of the existence and activity of the soul after its separation from the body, the mysterious spirit at first hovers about its old abode, the dead body, and the house where the departed lived, being then particularly dangerous to the surviving relatives. The danger is greatest before the corpse has been buried. The Indians also fancy that the soul follows the body to the grave, and their burial

[p.189]

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of the dead the *āhat* hunts, gathers fruit and goes fishing for food. When he arrives at the abode of the dead, his people come to meet him and they take him to their house. 775

6) The dead inhabit a region of their own situated under the one we live in. When it is daylight here it is dark in their region. [772]

The *āhat* sleep during the day and at night search for food. They feed on dead animals and fish. Their life is exactly the same as that of living persons. They have underground fields and lagoons. They cultivate the earth the same as we do, raise animals and go fishing.

The *āhat* fight each other like the living Bolivians and Paraguayans do. The spirits of the Matako are at war with those of the Toba.

7) A dead person is called an *āhat*. The *āhat* live in the bush and appear only at night. We do not know exactly what they do in the bush nor what they eat. Some of them may be good. The medicine-men may talk with them and learn what is going to happen. For instance, they predict disease and future death. [787]

8) When a man sees an *āhat* he will die unless he is a medicine-man. When a person is dying an *āhat* comes and steals his fire. [761]

9) When the north wind blows very hard, the *āhat* leave their abode and walk about the earth looking for uninhabited places. If they see a man they vanish under the earth, but sometimes they are seen from afar. Frequently the *āhat* transform themselves into the north wind, which brings storms. [821]

10) If you dream that you are visiting the land of the *āhat* and one of them invites you to eat, you must refuse. If you accept you may die during the following year.

II. The Medicine-men and the Big Fire

A medicine-man may call on the Big Fire at the end of the world. On the journey he crosses first a rainy area and then he comes to a dark zone where it is impossible to see. 756 773

156 The medicine-men who have snuffed the powder of *seòil* seeds (*ńatax*) and gone into a trance see everything, especially the disease demons. They also see bad medicine-men. When in this state they may also call on the spirits of the dead (*āhat*). Such visits to the dead may sometimes help to cure a patient, for if it is the spirit of a dead person who caused the sickness, he can also take it away. A medicine-man has to pay the disease demon when he cures somebody and so he in turn charges the patient. The fees of a medicine-man are extremely high. My informant Pedro, for instance, has paid a poncho (value of 18 pesos) for being cured of snake bite. If the patient dies, the medicine-man is not entitled to a fee, even a very small one. However, his professional fame is not lessened.

If a medicine-man has not succeeded in effecting a cure, another one is called in, but then the task is more difficult as the disease has lost its temper. It is also important to call the right specialist. Certain doctors have acquired fame for curing particular diseases. Snake bites are usually treated by special medicine-men.

156b 787 ●761 When medicine-men perform magical rites, a very big tree covered with green leaves, similar to those of a palm tree and also extremely thick, appears before them. This tree always emits a noise which only medicine-men perceive. If this same tree appears to the medicine-men without leaves and quite dry, it presages death for him. He then knows that he has only one year to live. Through magic the medicine-man knows when his last moment is near. He has only to let the tree come. When his time arrives the magic tree comes down from the sky, stops at a certain height above the ground near the medicine-man, who throws himself on the ground, and as soon as he has breathed his last the tree gets up and bursts »like a bomb«. It is the end for the medicine-man and the tree. The soul of the dead [775] medicine-man goes to the sky to the place where the tree had been.

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IX. Storms

When a storm approaches with rain and thunder, little children's ears are to be covered each time the thunder crashes, otherwise Rain would take them under his arm and carry them away to his house. When such a thing happens, the child's body, which has remained on earth, becomes lean and white and all the food he takes is of no use. He visibly pines away, and it is not likely that a medicine-man can cure him. He will finally die without the cause of his death being known. The rain cannot do anything to grown-ups or big children, for it has not the strength to carry them away, but it can harm menstruating women who happen to be out during a storm. Then they get very feeble.

X. Shooting Stars

Shooting stars foretell the death of someone. Meteors are stones thrown by the rain in order to fell the *quebracho*.

XI. Treatment of Snake Bites

When a serpent bites a man, it goes into the wound and climbs up in his body. When a man's foot is bitten by a-snake the leg must be pressed starting from the thigh, squeezing down to the place where he has been bitten. In so doing, the snake which has already had time to enter the leg, is obliged to go down into the big toe where it rolls itself up, tired. The operation lasts from evening to dawn and when the sun appears the snake gets cramped and vanishes under the ground. Once the snake is out the medicine-man has to suck the wound, for the departing snake has left its skin inside the body of the victim. The patient is completely cured only when the last piece of skin left by the snake has been removed. Otherwise he remains sick, has a headache and gets thinner and thinner.

If the progress of the snake inside the body cannot be stopped, the animal may go up into the head and blind the victim. It also goes to the heart and after repeated bites

/217 cont./

Notes

753 1. This woman, who was about seven months pregnant,
755 continued to carry enormous loads of dry wood, which provoked
843 the illness to which she succumbed.

[61] 2. According to the opinion of the village, the death was due to the fact that she had become pregnant before her first child knew how to feed itself.